

## Sacrifice of League for Partisan Reasons Would be Great World Tragedy

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS,  
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PARIS, March 5.—There is probably no more difficult problem than the endeavor to represent to Americans accurately European views at the present time on American political conditions. Probably at no time since America entered the war has European attention been so much as it is now concentrated on American domestic politics, and certainly not even in the period before we entered the war were these American political conditions less understood in Europe. At bottom, this failure accurately to appraise the situation in America arises from the fact that Europe has accepted Mr. Wilson without reservation as an authorized and qualified spokesman of the whole of the United States. The will of America as it is understood here is what President Wilson says in the Paris conference.

In English and French politics alike the defeat of the prime minister on any large question of policy means the fall of the ministry and a change of political power.

The fact that following President Wilson's defeat in the November election there was no change in America has been naturally accepted here, where a knowledge of our political institutions is relatively slight, as proof that only domestic questions were involved in that election, and that the president remains the spokesman for the American people with their complete approval in all foreign matters. When President Wilson decided to come to Europe, all the allied nations had in their turn to decide whether or not the president should be received as an ambassador of all America. They decided to accept him as such. They have listened to every word that he has spoken in matters of policy with exactly that attention, that consideration, which flows from an unqualified acceptance of Mr. Wilson in such a role.

### ESSENTIAL TO REALIZE POSITION IN EUROPE.

Now it is essential to recognize what the position of America in Europe is today. American aid on the military side is realized everywhere to have been the decisive factor in winning the war. American contributions to the feeding of millions of people in Belgium, in northern France, in eastern and southern Eu-

rope, has meant the difference between starvation and existence. There are literally millions of people alive in Europe who owe their existence wholly to America. For the future the little people of the large countries and the people, large and small, of the little countries all turn their eyes toward America as the one solid element of hope in a world otherwise somber and despairing. Admiration, gratitude, hope—all three emotions flow from American service in Europe and President Wilson's welcome to Europe was a natural and spontaneous expression on the part of millions of people of their feeling toward the country that had saved them in the past and to whom they turn now for future deliverance.

To discriminate between Mr. Wilson as president of the United States and, as such, the representative of his country in Paris, and President Wilson, leader of a political party at home, was a thing totally beyond the capacity of the European peoples. To them Mr. Wilson and the United States mean the same thing, and I cannot adequately describe the degree of apprehension and dismay which recent political events in the United States has occasioned. And this dismay arises primarily out of a feeling that America as a whole may desert Europe, may leave millions it has temporarily saved to permanent misery. The attack upon President Wilson's league of nations formula seems to these peoples in Europe an attack upon all that America means to them, and this is bound to be so.

### NOT THE FLATTERY OF POLITICIANS.

For the American in Europe, the attitude and sentiment expressed by the common peoples of all the allied nations is a thing which at once awakens pride and humility. It is not the flattery of politicians; it is not even the praise of public men which impressed. It is, rather, the simple, unlimited faith of the masses of the people.

On two evenings last week I attended dinners, one in honor of Venizelos, the great Greek statesman, and the other presided over by Take Jonescu, the man who brought Roumania into the war on the allied side.

Both made speeches and each, in a manner which was impressive, explained what to his own little people the league of nations meant.

## SEEKS TO SETTLE LABOR TROUBLE.



THE RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD-GEORGE

Premier Lloyd George is working to end the labor crisis in England. He has introduced a bill to investigate the miners' demands and hopes for a speedy settlement of the difficulties.

with America a force in that league, a force for the justice and that right of which, for their countries, America was the living embodiment.

### VICTORIOUS, BUT EXHAUSTED.

I have said and I repeat, that in my judgment it is the view of all well informed Americans in Europe that for America to abandon the task now would mean to surrender Europe to a despair which might have almost any consequence. Germany lost this war, it is true, but before Germany laid down her arms she almost succeeded in wrecking the nations she attacked. She has left her enemies victorious, but exhausted, almost paralyzed, in the presence of the stupendous task of reconstruction. We came late, who suffered relatively little, were still strong, supplied the one fixed basis of hope in a situation critical

beyond words to describe.

In this situation it is too much to expect that either France or Great Britain, much less the little nations, will be able to differentiate between Mr. Wilson, president, and Mr. Wilson leader of the democratic party. It is beyond the limits of possibility to expect that they will understand our domestic and political conditions or see anything in the present political conflict at home but a menace to all their hopes for the future and a threat of repudiation by America of the many obligations which we have undertaken through the president of the United States and have, through him, clearly indicated our purpose to carry on.

### OPPOSITION IN AMERICA UNMISTAKABLE IN EUROPE.

What opposition to the league of nations in its present form in America means in Europe is, therefore, unmistakable. Technical objections arising out of danger to the Monroe Doctrine or interference with our immigration laws are unimportant to the European mind. If it is desired by America, and asked, both will be excluded from the operation of the league of nations. Any concession or amendment will be made except one. No nations, big or little, will consent to the withdrawal of America from Europe willingly.

If the league of nations collapses, the elements of hope will be withdrawn from the European situation and the people that have the great task of reconstruction to undertake may yield to despair.

### HAVE STAKED ALL ON WILSON.

In sum, the simple fact is that Europe has accepted Mr. Wilson as the spokesman of America. It has welcomed him as no other public man has ever been welcomed here before. He was the delegate of that America whose services were in the minds and hearts of millions of people. It has to an incredible extent risked all its future hope upon Mr. Wilson, not as an individual, but as president of the United States; and if the country repudiates what Mr. Wilson has done here for domestic or political reasons which are wholly comprehensible to every American, the European tragedy will be stupendous. The European has known no other American view than that of President Wilson. It has accepted his view because it believed it to be the American view, and today it stands literally aghast in the presence of the possibility at least suggested by fragmentary dispatches that the real view of America is something entirely different from the president's.

I have talked with many republicans who are here, all of whom see the situation clearly, substantially as I have presented it here. Without exception, they recognize the greatness of the American mission's opportunity and duty in Europe; with no dissenting voice they assert that to abandon the league of nations with its European responsibilities now will be little less than the abandonment of those who died in Europe to establish American ideals in the world. No country could deserve the admiration America receives in Europe today and no country could afford to surrender that position in the world which had been won for it by devotion and achievement, by unselfishness unparalleled in world history; and to withdraw from Europe now would be to sacrifice what seems to be the greatest opportunity for human service that has ever come to any single people.

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